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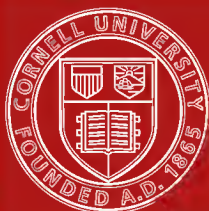


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**BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY AND  
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE IN QUEEN'S  
UNIVERSITY, KINGSTON, ONTARIO, CANADA.**

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**THE GRANGE IN CANADA**

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**BY  
H. MICHELL.**

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**BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY AND  
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- No. 1, The Colonial Policy of Chatham, by W. L. Grant.**
- No. 2, Canada and the Most Favored Nation Treaties, by  
O. D. Skelton.**
- No. 3. The Status of Women in New England and New France,  
by James Douglas.**
- No. 4, Sir Charles Bagot: An Incident in Canadian Parlia-  
mentary History, by J. L. Morison.**
- No. 5, Canadian Bank Inspection, by W. W. Swanson.**
- No. 6, Should Canadian Cities Adopt Commission Govern-  
ment, by William Bennett Munro.**
- No. 7, An Early Canadian Impeachment, by D. A. McArthur.**
- No. 8, A Puritan at the Court of Louis XIV, by W. L. Grant.**
- No. 9, British Supremacy and Canadian Autonomy: An Ex-  
amination of Early Victorian Opinion Concerning  
Canadian Self-government, by J. L. Morison.**
- No. 10, The Problem of Agricultural Credit in Canada, by  
H. Michell.**
- No. 11, St. Alban in History and Legend: A Critical Examina-  
tion; The King and His Councillors: Prolegomena to  
a History of the House of Lords, by L. F. Rushbrook  
Williams.**
- No. 12, Life of the Settler in Western Canada Before the War  
of 1812, by Adam Shortt.**
- No. 13, The Grange in Canada, by H. Michell.**

## THE GRANGE IN CANADA.

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FOREWORD. The following sketch is intended to be merely an outline of the history of the Patrons of Husbandry in Canada. As indicated hereafter, much of the history of the Order is of such a personal character that no good purpose would be served by reviewing old disputes and controversies, which are by now almost forgotten, and which will soon doubtless vanish into a kindly oblivion. I shall, however, hope to treat certain aspects of the movement more fully hereafter in an extended history of the various political and social organizations among the farmers in Canada—the Grange, the Patrons of Industry, the Farmers' Association, and the Grain Growers' Movement in the West.—H. M.

### FOUNDING OF THE ORDER.

The idea of founding a secret order modelled more or less on the pattern of such societies as the Free Masons and Odd-fellows, but confined exclusively to agriculturists, would seem to have sprung, like Minerva from Jupiter, from the brain of Mr. O. H. Kelley, a clerk in the Department of Agriculture at Washington. Sent in 1866 on a tour through the Southern States of the Union, in order to report on conditions prevalent in those parts after the Civil War, he came to the conclusion that the best way to deal with industrial depression and decay consequent on the social upheaval would be the founding of a national secret order of farmers, which would foster a corporate feeling among those engaged in agriculture and advance their common aims and objects. He managed to interest six other friends in Washington, all civil service clerks, and this band of seven hardy pioneers formed themselves, in December, 1867, into the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, "Grange" being the name of the Order, while the title Patrons of Husbandry was bestowed on the individual members. We will not follow the history of the intrepid Kelley in his early struggles to advance his idea; suffice it to say that progress at first was very slow, in fact hardly any headway was made at all until 1870, when the order began to extend a little in the states of Minnesota and Iowa. Soon, however, the ball began to roll, and by May, 1873, there were 3,360 Granges in the United States, mostly in the North Central district. From then on the progress became startling, thousands of Granges

being added almost every month, and the Order reached the zenith of its power and popularity in 1875, when the astonishing number of 21,697 Granges with 758,767 members were in existence. Having reached the crest of the wave it quickly declined, in eighteen months 5,500 Granges ceasing to exist. During the later eighties a recrudescence of the order took place, and after many ups and downs the order is still fairly vigorous in many localities of the United States.

#### FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

As has already been said the name Grange was given to the order as a whole while the members were termed Patrons of Husbandry. The unit was the local lodge called "Subordinate Grange." Representatives of the Subordinate Granges formed the State Grange (in Canada "Division Grange"). The State Grange only existed as a separate entity when summoned in session by the Master. Representatives from the State Granges made up the National Grange ("Dominion" in Canada) which met in annual session to legislate for the good of the whole order.

The Grange is unique in being the only secret order in which women are admitted. There are seven degrees, of which the first four are open to ordinary members of the subordinate Granges, the fifth to members of State or Division Granges, and the sixth and seventh only to members of the National or Dominion Granges. The various degrees are:—

- 1st. Labourer (man), Maid (woman).
- 2nd. Cultivator (man), Shepherdess (woman).
- 3rd. Harvester (man), Gleaner (woman).
- 4th. Husbandman (man), Matron (woman).
- 5th. Pomona (Hope) (men and women).
- 6th. Flora (Charity) (men and women).
- 7th. Ceres (Faith) (men and women).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In America the Seventh Degree was made into an esoteric circle whose members styled themselves "Priests of Demeter." This does not seem to have penetrated to Canada. Much agitation was conducted against the higher degrees by members of subordinate Granges, and they were thrown open to all "whose garments were clean."



The ritual is simple, and may be made dignified, the teaching conveyed to the aspirants to the various degrees being of a very simple character.<sup>2</sup> The Labourer is instructed that all honest labour is honourable, and that he must “drive the very ploughshare of thought through the heavy soil of ignorance, and thus prepare the mind for the growth of knowledge and wisdom.”

Advancing one degree he becomes a Cultivator, “when his moral nature is educated and refined by repeated assurances that he who intelligently cultivates the growing plant is brought into close companionship with his Creator.” And he is instructed by the Ritual, “As we see the beautiful transformation of seeds into attractive plants, we have but another lesson taught us of the wondrous works of God; and if the beauties of this world, when rightly viewed, offer so much of the magnificence of the Creator to charm us here, what must be the sublime grandeur of that Paradise above not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens!” And so on and so forth in interminable platitudes.

#### OBJECTS OF THE ORDER.

The Preamble to the Constitution is a very interesting document, but is too long to be printed here in full.<sup>3</sup> Beginning with the complacent assertion that “Human happiness is the acme of earthly ambition,” it goes on to the even less arguable pronouncement, “The soil is the source from whence we derive all that constitutes wealth; without it we would have no agriculture, no manufactures, no commerce. Of all the material gifts of the Creator, the various productions of the vegetable world are of the first importance,” and so on.

The motto of the order is: “In essentials, Unity; in non-essentials, Liberty; in all things, Charity,” while the objects of the order are entirely praiseworthy:—

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves.

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<sup>2</sup>The Grange, by D. Wyatt Aiken. Philadelphia, 1884.

<sup>3</sup>This Preamble is quite famous, it having been copied, more or less ungrammatically, by numerous other ephemeral orders, such as the Farmers' Alliance and the Agricultural Wheel, both in the U.S.A. The Patrons of Industry also drew largely on it.

To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes; and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits.

To foster mutual understanding and co-operation.

To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate.

To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining.

The discontinuance of the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and in general acting together for our mutual protection and advancement as occasion may require.

For our business interests we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relation possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen; not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.

We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant per cent. profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profit of producers.

We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth, taught in our organic law, that the Grange is not a political or party organization.

Such are a few of the more striking clauses in the Declaration of Principles of the Dominion Grange. It may be truthfully said that whatever other rocks may have lain in the path of the Grange and on which the order struck, the Grangers always managed to steer clear of the greatest danger of all, participation in politics, the rock on which the Patrons of Industry foundered in 1895.

The officers of the order are thirteen in number, presided over by the Worthy Master, and including Overseer, Secretary, Treasurer, Lecturer, Chaplain, Steward, Assistant Steward, Gate Keeper, Lady Steward, and three highly ornamental lady officers termed severally, Ceres, Pomona, and Flora.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The best account of the Grange in the United States, up to 1880, is by Dr. S. J. Buck, entitled "The Grange Movement," and published by the Harvard University Press. I am indebted to this volume for statistics of the movement in the U.S.A. Practically nothing has been published concerning the movement in Canada, except an article in Castell Hopkins' Encyclopedia of Canada, by Mr. H. Glendinning. Miss H. Robinson has written a couple of articles in the Farmers' Magazine recounting early recollections of the movement. Early files of the "Farmers' Advocate" and the "Farmers' Sun" contain much scattered information.

## PLANTING OF THE GRANGE IN CANADA.

The first step taken by the Grangers in the United States to extend the order to Canada was in 1872, when a Mr. Eben Thompson was deputed by the master of the National Grange to organize Granges in the Province of Quebec. Thompson was successful in founding eleven, the first being "The International" at Stanstead, Quebec; others following shortly afterwards at Dixville, Danville, Frelighsburg and Dunham, all in the same province, the first in Ontario being at L'Orignal. It is, however, of interest to note that the order did not then, nor subsequently, flourish in the Province of Quebec, and the early Granges organized by Thompson, although some of them had a seemingly large membership, almost instantly subsided, in fact some of them never met in session at all. Thompson's efforts were seconded by Mr. J. F. Cass, who was made a deputy, and was successful in organizing the twelfth Grange, named "Winchester," at Cass Bridge, Ontario.<sup>5</sup>

These efforts occupied the years 1872-3, and in 1874 Eben Thompson's commission as deputy for Canada expired, and on his petitioning the National Grange for an extension he was refused by the master, Mr. Adams. This rebuff did not, however, deter Thompson, and he returned to Canada as a free-lance determined to carry on the work himself. Proceeding to London, Ont., he called on Mr. Wild, editor of the "Farmers' Advocate," and explained to him that ten Granges were already organized and in full working order in the Dominion, and that the Executive Committee of the National Grange had agreed that as soon as fifteen subordinate Granges were organized a Dominion Grange would be established, financially independent of the National Grange in the United States; there would seem to be some doubt as to whether this promise was actually given in a formal and authoritative manner.

Mr. Wild, struck by the idea of the Grange as an organization likely to be of benefit to the farmers, agreed to help Thompson, both personally and through the press, and the work of organizing Granges went forward, although slowly,

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<sup>5</sup>History of the Grange in Canada. By members of the Dominion Grange. Toronto, Belford Bros., May, 1876. Paper Wrappers, pp. 32.

the insuperable difficulty in the way of rapid expansion being the fact that the Canadian movement was still subordinate to the National Grange and all quarterly dues and organization fees were accepted by the head office and dispensations granted in due form, although Eben Thompson was an unaccredited agent.

In the spring of 1874 fifteen Granges had been organized, and a letter was addressed to the National Grange reminding the Executive Committee of their alleged promise, and demanding the inauguration of a Dominion Grange. This letter was never answered, and the Canadian Grangers became alarmed. The first step at asserting independence was made by Mr. Thomas of Forest City Grange, who on May 23, 1874, invited all Masters, Secretaries, and Lecturers to meet at the rooms of the Grange in London. On June 2, twenty-five delegates assembled and thereupon proceeded to inaugurate the Dominion Grange, with Mr. S. W. Hill of Ridgeville as Worthy Master, and I. W. Dyas as Secretary.

Having taken the initial step the convention then adjourned to meet again on June 3, when a Constitution and By-laws were agreed to, and a Declaration of Principles drawn up and published, and the first annual convention fixed for September 22, when the officers elected and two delegates from each subordinate Grange were to meet at Toronto. At the meeting on June 3, no idea of complete separation from the National Grange seems to have been suggested, and a resolution was passed acknowledging the National Grange as the parent institution, and looking to it for guidance in organization. So far all had been plain sailing, but when the meeting was over troubles began. There was no money in the treasury, and the secretary had much on his shoulders, printing to be done, and organization to be put forward. But more serious than that was the open revolt of several of the subordinate Granges, led by the Georgian Grange at Meaford, which repudiated the action of the delegates and refused to acknowledge any organization but the National Grange at Washington. These difficulties were met by the secretary bearing the expenses, which were considerable, out of his own pocket, and by the tact and excellent generalship of the Dominion Master, Mr. Hill, who succeeded in pacifying the recalcitrants.

All trouble was, however, not yet over, and the next move came from the National Grange, which, having ignored the notice sent to it announcing the formation of the Dominion Grange and praying for recognition, suddenly dropped a bomb in the Canadian camp by sending a circular to the subordinate Granges ordering the Masters to meet the Master of the National Grange at London, on August 18, 1874, in order to form a State Grange for Canada. Something like a panic was caused among the Dominion Grangers at this counter attack, and a letter was sent to all subordinate Granges on August 11, apprising them of the fact and saying that matters had gone too far by then for any notice to be taken of this summons, and the Executive Committee was convened to meet also at London on August 18 in order to meet the invaders.

The Master of the National Grange and of the Michigan State Grange arrived on time, but only one Master from Canada met them,<sup>6</sup> and the meeting was a fiasco, no State Grange being organized. We are told, however, that all was peaceful, and so far from a clash following with the entrenched Executive Committee of the Canadian Grangers, indeed "In order to show that there was no ill-feeling, the Executive Committee invited the Master of the National Grange and his colleague to lunch, and all parties separated in good humour."

On September 22, as arranged, the first regular annual convention of the Dominion Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry met in Toronto, 73 delegates being present. The proceedings were of an unanimous and enthusiastic description, all internal strife being at an end. Forty-four subordinate Granges were in existence, with a total membership of 235. Two Division Granges had been organized, namely the London and the Grey, and the secretary reported \$240 in the treasury.

The question of recognition by the National Grange was anxiously debated and Mr. S. W. Hill was deputed as delegate

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<sup>6</sup>Unfortunately the name and Grange of this hardy master has been lost. It seems, however, that all the Granges in Canada were not gathered into the Dominion fold, a few in Quebec acknowledging the National Grange to the end of their somewhat brief existence. Six were reported in 1876 as still in connection with Washington, but they seem to have dissolved soon afterwards. All the early records are very uncertain on the point.

to the annual meeting of the American Order. His mission did not succeed, for, although received with kindness and courtesy, there was a strong party among the American Grangers opposed to any recognition of the Canadian Order as a separate entity, and all efforts at recognition were defeated.

The second annual meeting of the Dominion Grange was held in Toronto, October 27-29, 1875, when 62 delegates were present. The growth of the order had been rapid, the secretary reporting 22 Division Granges, 247 subordinate, and total receipts for the year of \$4,662. Mr. Chase, Master of the New Hampshire State Grange, was present, and on his return to the States threw his influence into the movement for recognition.

The ninth session of the National Grange was held in Louisville in November, 1875, and the Committee on Foreign Relations presented a long and remarkably bombastic report<sup>7</sup> recommending full recognition of the Dominion Grange, and the discontinuance of the issuing of dispensations by the National Executive. This was agreed to and since then the Dominion Grange has always ranked as a sister body, sending its Master to the annual sessions of the National Grange.

#### RISE AND DECLINE OF THE GRANGE IN CANADA.

The increase in the number of Granges organized in Canada from 1875-6 to 1885 was certainly phenomenal. In 1876 there were 33 Division Granges and 530 subordinate, in 1879, 51 and 766 respectively, while the secretary computed the total membership of the order at over 31,000. In 1886 there were reported 56 Division and 921 subordinate Granges. But beneath these figures lay a deadly paradox. The course of the Grange was like a prairie fire sweeping across the country, blazing up and as quickly dying down. A careful perusal of the published lists of Granges will reveal that never at any time were more than three hundred Granges actually in full working order; the rest had become extinct shortly after inauguration. It may also be computed that the average life of

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<sup>7</sup>The pompous turgidity of most of the resolutions of the State Grange, couched in quasi-scriptural language, is quite prostrating to the ordinary reader. It must, however, be acknowledged that the Dominion Grange generally managed to express itself with some degree of conciseness.

the vast majority of the subordinate Granges was two years, many but a few months, while others died at birth.

While year after year the secretary was announcing mighty numbers and great advances, a far more accurate and less flattering tale was told by the yearly receipts of the treasury. In 1877 the total receipts amounted to \$7,562 and in 1885 had fallen to \$1,055, and in that year the secretary congratulated the Dominion Grange on the magnificent position of the order in Canada. From 1888 onwards the decline was very rapid, as the following figures will show:—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Division.</i>	<i>Subord.</i>	<i>Treasury.</i>
1890 . . . . .	21	100	\$560
1895 . . . . .	12	70	424
1902 . . . . .	8	34	126
1906 . . . . .	5	32	134

In the last year the total number of members of the order was 446. Since 1906 no figures have been issued, but a slight increase was registered by the amalgamation of the Grange with the Farmers' Association<sup>s</sup> in 1906, and in 1909 there were \$1,022 in the treasury. Since 1909 no annual reports have been issued. During the whole history of the order there were organized at one time or another 57 Division Granges, 976 subordinate, 2 provincial (Ontario and Maritime Provinces), and one Dominion, making a grand total of 1,036 separate Grange organizations in the Dominion.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF THE ORDER.

Although originally started in the Province of Quebec, the Grange was always overwhelmingly an Ontario order. During the course of its existence there were organized the following number of subordinate Granges:—

Ontario . . . . .	821
Nova Scotia . . . . .	85
Quebec . . . . .	23
New Brunswick . . . . .	21
Manitoba . . . . .	22
Alberta . . . . .	2
British Columbia . . . . .	2

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<sup>s</sup>A short-lived effort to collect the scattered members of the Patrons of Industry.

## QUEBEC.

Although the birthplace of the order, the Province of Quebec never had an extensive or lasting organization, in fact there were no Granges in existence by 1882.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that the secession from the National Grange was the reason for this lack of support.

## MANITOBA.

In Manitoba a fairly vigorous organization was carried on for many years, old Patrons who had emigrated from Ontario bringing their order with them. The first to be founded was at High Bluff, in 1878, and later in the same year the Burnside Grange was inaugurated at Portage-la-Prairie. In 1887 a Division Grange was organized, named the "Victoria," and was kept going until 1906, when the order was, with one exception, finally extinguished in the province. It is interesting to note that the last four faithful Granges to keep in active connection with the Dominion Grange right down to 1906 were at Carberry, Florenta, Wellwood, and Gladstone, the last to expire being the "Union" at Florenta which finally dropped out in 1907.

In Alberta two Granges were organized in 1907, both at Morningside, but after a few months existence these also vanished. In British Columbia two Granges were also founded, one in 1883 and the other in 1908.

## THE GRANGE IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

The total number of Granges in the Maritime Provinces were:—

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Division. Subordinate.</i>	
Nova Scotia . . . . .	4	85
New Brunswick . . . . .	3	21

The order never penetrated to Prince Edward Island, nor flourished to any extent in New Brunswick.

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<sup>9</sup>This statement is open to contradiction. No mention is made of any Granges being in existence in the Dominion Grange Report for 1882. It is possible, however, that as in Nova Scotia a few Granges existed, unattached to any organization.



The first subordinate Grange was organized at Onslow in Colchester County in the summer of 1874, by a deputy sent from Toronto, and Colonel Wm. Blair organized in the same year six in Colchester County and later others in Kings, Hants, Cumberland and Annapolis counties. The order spread slowly and reached its height in 1887 when the Maritime Provincial Grange was inaugurated, such an organization being found necessary in view of the expense in sending delegates to the Dominion Grange.

The cause of the downfall of the order in Nova Scotia was the same as wrecked the Grange all over the Dominion, namely, the failure of the Wholesale Supply Co. The Nova Scotia Granges had been buying largely from the Wholesale Supply Co. in Toronto, but owing to the distance and also owing to many complaints as to orders badly filled, it was agreed to open a branch in Halifax in 1887. About nine thousand dollars were subscribed by Grangers in the Maritime Provinces on the understanding that a branch should be opened, and kept open. Suddenly in 1889 the branch was closed and a demand made on the shareholders for the remainder of their unpaid subscriptions for stock. This was a staggering blow, but the demand was successfully resisted on the plea of breach of contract on the part of the directors in not keeping the branch open in Halifax. The whole of the money paid up was, of course, lost, and the Grange never recovered from it, losing every semblance of prestige in the community. It struggled on until 1894 when it finally collapsed. A few scattered Granges are still in existence, owning allegiance to no one, and conducted more or less as farmers' clubs.

#### THE GRANGE IN ONTARIO.

The Province of Ontario, although not the birthplace of the order in Canada, was yet always the stronghold, presenting in fact the impression of an Ontario order with offshoots in other provinces. As has already been said, the first subordinate Grange was inaugurated at L'Orignal, but the counties of Grey and Middlesex soon became the strongest territories of the order. From London the order spread rapidly all over Western Ontario, and it has always been in the western portion of the province that the order has had its greatest support

and most lasting success, although, of course, it spread all over the province from east to west.

The Ontario Provincial Grange instituted in 1882 came to an untimely end in 1887. It is difficult to understand exactly the motives which led to the founding of this entirely superfluous organization. The Dominion Grange, already overwhelmingly representative of the Province of Ontario, was amply sufficient to supply all needs. Doubtless a desire to emulate the State Granges of the United States was at the bottom of it. Its course was a short and a merry one. It is almost beyond belief that the funds of the organization should have been dissipated with such recklessness, but in 1884 no less a sum than \$1,276 was paid out as "sessional indemnity" to members of the Provincial Grange. From this extravagance it never recovered, and by 1886 the treasury was almost depleted, and by 1887 the Provincial Grange had to face bankruptcy or absorption by the Dominion Grange. The latter alternative was naturally chosen and this entirely unnecessary and ill-judged experiment was closed forever.

#### COMMERCIAL VENTURES OF THE GRANGE.

The Grange, after its mushroom and wholly unstable growth in early years, settled down to a steady membership of some four to five thousand Patrons, organized into about two hundred subordinate Granges. Had the order received no disasters from within there can be little doubt that a revival might have taken place between 1890 and 1900. But such was not to be. Blow after blow shattered the order and left it a little band of faithful men resolved to see it through to the end. Practically the leading tenet of the Grange was "co-operation," as the manifesto states, and in order to carry out their principles the Patrons organized four companies in all, namely, The Dominion Grange Mutual Fire Insurance Co., the Grange Trust, the Grange Wholesale Supply Co., and the Ontario Peoples' Salt and Soda Co. Of these, the first three brought irremediable disaster to the order, the last alone achieving any permanent success, and being still in operation.

The Grange Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1876 and finally failed in 1894, although in 1887, owing to disputes between the manager and executive of the Dominion Grange,

all connection between the Company and the Grange had ceased. In 1885 it had two branches and the total at risk was over seven and a half million dollars, more than double the amount of any purely mutual insurance company in Ontario. Extravagant management and internal dissensions ruined the company. The Grange Trust Company was organized in 1878 and failed in 1887. Its nominal capital was \$1,000,000, of which over \$100,000 was paid up. Its prospectus describes it as a "Co-operative Farming Co.," its object being, "to obtain home and foreign capital at the least possible cost, investing it with our brethren, and others, at the current rates of interest, the profits going back to them on the co-operative principle." By 1882 the company was not doing well, and the annual report of the Dominion Grange for 1884 reported mismanagement of affairs of several years' standing. An attempt to obtain capital from the English wholesale co-operative companies did not succeed, and the company went out of business.

The Grange Wholesale Supply Co. was an attempt at supplying members of the order with all kinds of goods, more or less in a co-operative manner, although it must be remarked that the Patrons never understood and never practised the real tenets of the co-operative system. The history of this venture is an interesting one. It was started by a group of Patrons in the county of Lennox and Addington clubbing together in the spring of 1875 to bring in a band of 160 farm hands from the old country. The venture was a success, and the same group in the following year co-operated in the storage, shipment and sale of 300,000 bushels of barley and 5,000 bushels of oats, peas and rye. This venture also being a profitable one, the "Grange Co-operative Company" was started and a store opened at Napanee.

The Dominion Grange now took the matter up and appointed the manager of the Napanee store "Grange Agent" to fill wholesale orders sent him by subordinate Granges for groceries and supplies. These orders he supplied through the Napanee store, and it was soon found that the business was getting too big for it to be handled by the small organization in that town. In consequence the whole business was moved in 1879 to Toronto, and a large company was promoted, with a branch at Halifax, which, however, was afterwards closed, as

has been recounted elsewhere. The Toronto company did a large business, in 1883 the total sales amounting to \$237,158.00, and produce to the amount of \$16,570.00 was sold on account of the Patrons who sent their goods to the warehouse for marketing in this way. The usual quarrels and trouble with managers followed, into which it is needless to go. Law suits against two successive managers found in default, practically wrecked the company, and by 1894 the concern was irreparably damaged and soon after closed its doors.

These failures wrecked the Order, and indeed every attempt at working out any scheme of co-operation only brought discredit on the Grange. When the Co-operative Associations Bill was introduced into the Senate in 1907 it was rejected for no other reason than that the word "co-operation" had acquired a very unsavoury sound, simply and solely through the failures of the Grange.<sup>10</sup>

The Ontario Peoples' Salt and Soda Company of Kincardine is the sole survivor of all the enterprises set on foot by the Grange. Its history is one of the greatest interest but is too long to go into here in any detail. Suffice it to say that it was organized in 1882 to combat the Canada Salt Association, which it was alleged by the farmers was keeping the price of salt at an unduly high figure—\$1.00 per barrel. A salt well and salt-making outfit was purchased at Kincardine, and after innumerable difficulties, among which was the digging of a new well and the installation of new machinery, the manufacture of salt was commenced in December, 1884. The price of salt fell from \$1.00 to 60 cents a barrel and the Canada Salt Association dissolved.<sup>11</sup> We will not follow the company through all its struggles and its very genuine triumphs. The inevitable quarrels threatened to, but did not actually wreck the company. The numerous and furious broadsheets issued by opposing factions accusing opponents of fraud, mismanage-

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<sup>10</sup>Out of fairness to legitimate co-operators it must be put on record that the Grange never understood co-operative principles, and used the word co-operative quite unjustifiably.

<sup>11</sup>It was claimed by the Grange that this was due solely to the Kincardine Company starting work, but this is extremely doubtful. The whole history of the salt industry in Canada is an interesting one, and other factors were at work besides the Kincardine Company.

ment, blackmail, and malicious misrepresentation, afford lively if melancholy reading. However, the warring factions were ejected and the company has pursued an uneventful and peaceful course up to the present day. A brief period of affluence came when the "Patrons of Industry" swept the land in their eventful and short-lived course, and when that movement died away, although much trade was lost, yet the Kincardine Company was left in a sound condition, in which it now is, small but steady dividends having been paid for the last twenty-three years.

An attempt to manufacture soda and chloride of lime in 1896 was a failure, not, it must be said, through any fault of the directors, and although the word "soda" is included in the official name of the company, no soda has ever been produced at the works.

This account of the commercial enterprises of the Grange is, through the exigencies of space, very incomplete. It is certainly a mercy that the losses to the Patrons were not heavier than they actually were. A proposal to manufacture agricultural instruments on a large scale made in 1876 was happily rejected,<sup>12</sup> as was also the founding of a Grange Bank, proposed in 1882. Innumerable little "co-operative" stores were started all over Ontario, and a few in Nova Scotia, all of which in time either failed or became purely proprietary. But although they failed they at least helped to break up the ruinous system of long and usurious credits, then all too prevalent in country districts. If for no other reason, the efforts of the Patrons at co-operation were not wholly in vain.

#### INFLUENCE ON LEGISLATION.

Although the influence of the Grange in Canada over legislation has in no way approached that which the National Grange has been able to bring to bear in such cases as railway freights, yet its influence has been steady and its efforts un-failing in attempts to ameliorate the conditions of the farming class.

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<sup>12</sup>The experiments of the American Granges in manufacturing implements were most disastrous, particularly in Nebraska in 1874, where the failure of the enterprise wiped the order clean out of the state; also in Iowa in 1874-5 heavy losses were sustained. Cf. Buck, pp. 268-69.

In 1878 the Grange was instrumental in having the "Act Respecting Investments in Tile Drain Debentures" passed. This Act has been of great benefit to farmers, providing that a township may borrow a sum of money for the purpose of loaning it out to farmers for the purpose of draining their farms.

In 1879 the Grange was largely instrumental in getting the Provincial Government to appoint the famous "Ontario Agricultural Commission" to inquire into the state of agriculture in the province and which brought in a most valuable report.

But the greatest fight and the greatest triumph of all was that connected with what were known as Market Fees, namely the charging by town councils of fees to farmers for the privilege of bringing their produce to the town market, and also the compulsory weighing of hay and straw. This was an exceedingly vexed question, and in 1882 the Ontario Government agreed to modify very drastically the powers under which the towns could levy these fees, but a strong deputation of mayors from many towns throughout the province having vigorously protested against the bill, it was passed but in a very different form from that agreed upon by the Grange. Against this the Grange protested and was strong enough to get the Act amended in 1883 to suit the views of the farmers to a greater degree than formerly.

In the Report of 1885 we read of the fate of a Deputation that waited upon Sir John A. Macdonald to impress their views on agricultural policy upon him. After recounting the courteous way in which the Premier received them, it goes on to say,—“but beyond a very pleasant time spent in conversation, and a little badinage in which Sir John seemed to take pleasure and an active part, nothing came of it all.”

The Noxious Weeds Act of 1885, providing for the extermination of weeds in the province, was passed at the instigation of the Grange, and subsequent amendments were made, also at the suggestion of the Order.

In 1887 the Grange was instrumental in having a standard size fixed for all salt barrels, and penalties imposed for light weight. An amendment to the assessment law exempting all farm stock from taxation and letting the taxes fall upon the

land, and also an act empowering Mutual Fire Insurance Companies to extend their insurance for a period of four years was passed.

In 1888 legislation making spark arresters obligatory on all steam threshing engines was passed.

Such is the total nett record of legislation obtained by the Grange, a striking commentary on the curiously ineffective nature of the organization as a power in the land.

Of resolutions passed there were an infinity. Innumerable debates were held on such subjects as the total uselessness of the Canadian Senate, and the next to useless character of the Dominion House of Commons. Swinging resolutions were passed to the effect that Canada was "overgoverned," but no practicable alternative was suggested. The school question was perennial, and we came across such resolutions as the following, which was proposed but happily defeated in 1887: "We find that holidays have been extended upon various pretexts until the time devoted to teaching, *if the customary hours of labour are considered*, has become much the smaller part of the year, and would therefore suggest the summer holidays in rural sections be reduced to three weeks time."

Most fortunately the men in control of the Order had their wits about them, otherwise the Grange would have gone on record as advocating some very queer things.

#### REASONS FOR FAILURE.

The reasons for the failure of the Grange in Canada are not far to seek, and indeed the wonder is that the little band of faithful men who kept the order alive for so many years was able to do so. First among the causes that may be assigned must be named the notorious character of aloofness and lack of the gregarious spirit found among agriculturists all over the world. That this should be so is, after all, only natural, and cannot with justice be imputed to the farming class for dishonour. Every farmer must be, from the very nature of his calling, more or less separated from his kin, and must of necessity "plough a lonely furrow." There cannot possibly be the same cohesion and class consciousness among men living miles apart from each other, as there can be among men living

in more or less intimate relations with each other in a city. The very fact that farmers had to travel sometimes many miles after work hours to attend the meetings militated against the Order. A town worker who need but walk a few hundred yards to his lodge meeting can naturally be in far closer touch with his fraternal society than can the farmer who must drive a long distance, arriving home perhaps at midnight.

Secondly, the disastrous experiments in finance more than anything else ruined the Order. The successive failures of the Grange Trust, the Fire Insurance Company, and the Wholesale Society dealt blows at the Grange from which it never recovered. That the Order ever weathered these successive disasters at all is to be marvelled at, and it speaks volumes for the men at the head that the flag was still kept flying. A vast number of members were added to the Order who joined merely for what they could get out of it, and finding that it was not a get-rich-quick scheme, dropped out and helped to swell the storm of criticism and abuse that beat about the Grange.

Thirdly, internal dissensions broke up all concord in the ranks. It is not the purpose of the present paper to go into the details of these unhappy disputes; the record of them in the annual reports and numerous pamphlets and circulars dealing with them make melancholy reading, and the remembrance of them may advantageously be buried for all time. A few self-seeking men, seeing an opportunity for money making out of the Order, did more to wreck the Grange than any other thing. The whole Order was rent with contending factions, each hurling invectives, insinuations, and open accusations at each other. At one time two "Grange Bulletins" were being published, both of which made a business of vilifying the other in the roundest terms. This page of Grange history forms the most discreditable phase of the whole movement, and proved a source of the greatest grief and annoyance to the true-hearted men who were toiling to guide the Order aright.

Fourthly, reckless finance did much to weaken the Order. The system of paying delegates to the Dominion Grange return fares and \$2 a day while in session ran away with very large sums. A depleted exchequer meant a curtailment of active propaganda work, an absolute necessity for an order whose clientele consisted of scattered agriculturists.



Fifthly, the counter attractions of the Farmers' Institutes, organized and encouraged by the Government, proved very strong.

#### WAS THE GRANGE A FAILURE?

It is very easy to speak of the many and obvious faults and mistakes that so marred the course of the Grange, and still easier to dismiss the whole movement as a failure. And yet nothing could be more unjust or lacking in insight. The Grange was not a failure in Canada. The name "Grange" "defamed by every charlatan and put to all ignoble use" has stood in the past and still stands for high and brave ideals. The testimony of many competent witnesses is undeniable, and puts on record that with all its mistakes, disasters and dissensions, no other organization has ever had so great an influence for good on the farmers of Canada. As one old gentleman has said, "It set the farmers thinking, and got them together, and gave them a sense of common interests. Unquestionably the Grange was of great benefit to the agricultural class in Canada."

No cause for which men of high ideals strive unflinchingly through fair report and through foul can ever be a complete failure; it must leave its mark for good on the community. Any order which contained in its ranks men like Jabel Robinson of Middlemarch, Henry Glendinning of Manilla, Wm. Blair of Truro, and W. L. Smith of Toronto, to name but four out of scores, must have been a power in the land, and such the Grange was.

The Grange appears to have found its second youth in the United States and to be in a flourishing condition on the other side of the border. It cannot be denied that it is at a very low ebb in Canada. It is possible, however, that a revival may yet come. The amalgamation with the "Farmers' Association" in 1907 infused some fresh blood into the Order, but did not have the revivifying effect that was hoped and expected. The Farmers' Institutes are increasingly active and draw much benefit and support from the Government, and these organizations certainly supply much that the Grange could for the farmers, although, of course, in no way approximating to a

secret society, a feature which has always been counted of great value by members of the Grange.

Whether the Grange has done its work and is now beyond revival, or whether time still holds something in store for the only order exclusively confined to farmers, remains to be seen. The impartial student of its history cannot but echo the motto "Esto Perpetua."

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H. MICHELL.







